

W R Sharpman
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WORKINGMEN'S PARTY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNION CONGRESS,

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA

ON THE

19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd day of July 1876.

*Declaration of Principles, Constitution,
Resolutions etc.*

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PROCEEDINGS

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FIRST DAY, WEDNESDAY, JULY 19th.

At 9.30 A. M. the Congress was opened by Geo. G. Block of the "Committee of Two." He called the delegates to order, welcomed them, referred to the difficult work of the Committee of Two and expressed the hope, that an amalgamation of the different groups of workingmen represented might be effected on a sound basis. He gave the assurance, that the Committee of Two had carefully collected all propositions and published them as far as practicable. In conclusion he called upon the delegates present to appoint a Committee on Credentials.

It was agreed upon that none but members of the societies here represented should be allowed to be present during the sessions of the Congress.

The delegates were to present proofs concerning the number of members and the financial state of their respective societies.

Strasser of New York and Conzett of Chicago were appointed as a Committee on credentials and after a short recess they reported, that credentials had been presented

by F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, N. J., and Otto Weydemeyer of Pittsburgh, Pa., from the *North American federation of the International Workingmens Association*;

by C. Conzett, of Chicago, Ill., of the *Workingmens Party of Illinois*;

by Chas. Braun of Philadelphia, Pa., from the *Social-political Workingmens Society of Cincinnati, O.*

by A. Gabriel of Newark, N. J., A. Strasser of New York and P. J. McGuire of New Haven, Conn., from the *Social-Democratic Workingmens Party of North America*, and

by Mr. Kupke of Philadelphia, Pa., from the German Free Congregation of Philadelphia.

The credentials of F. A. Sorge and O. Weydemeyer, representing 635 members in good standing, were declared valid and likewise those of C. Conzett, who pledged his honor that there were 593 members in good standing in the Illinois Workingmens Party. Opposition was raised against the credentials of Chas. Braun on the ground that he was not a member of the society represented by him. After a lengthy debate he was admitted by a vote of 3 against 2 and directed to furnish evidence concerning the number of members and the financial state of the society represented by him. Till the real number could be ascertained it was set down at 250. The credentials of A. Gabriel, A. Strasser, und P. J. McGuire were declared in order. They claimed to represent 1500 members and promised to furnish evidence. The credentials from the German Free Congregation of Philadelphia were rejected, said society being neither a society of workingmen nor represented at the Pittsburgh Convention in April.

Proceeding to the election of officers the Congress elected A. Gabriel, recording secretary of the Congress and A. Strasser chairman for the day. The Committee of Two were dismissed with a vote of thanks and its bill amounting to \$1.00 ordered paid. A telegraphic dispatch of congratulation from the New York branch of the S. D. W. P. was here received and ordered to be entered on the minutes.

It was decided that every delegate should have but one vote and the roll was then called to give every delegate an opportunity of explaining the instructions he had received from his constituents, which was responded to in the following order: Sorge, Weydemeyer, Conzett, Braun Strasser and Gabriel.

The Congress then formally entered into debate on the various propositions submitted and after some discussion it was resolved by a vote of 4 against 2 that the name of the united party should be

Workingmens Party of the United States.

The discussion of the declaration of principles did not occupy much time by which evidence was given of the great unanimity among the delegates.

The Congress then took a recess from 12 to 1 o'clock P. M.

The afternoon session began at 1 o'clock P. M. and a vote of censure was given to the delegates appearing too late. McGuire took his seat. Credentials were presented by Geo. G. Block from the Selavie Workingmen's Society of Cincinnati, O., and by G. Lyser from the Workingmen's Union of Milwaukee,

Wisc. Both were rejected on the ground that the respective societies had no representation at the Pittsburgh Convention; the delegates, however, were admitted to the floor without having a vote, which offer was accepted by G. Lyser and refused by Geo. G. Block—

The declaration of principles was then read again and adopted unanimously. (See page 14.)

Next in the order of business came the measures to be introduced for the present. On the motion of McGuire the limit of age in No. 5 was reduced to 14 by a vote of 4 against three (3) and No. 9 was inserted. The same delegate proposed the insertion of a clause (11) on co-operative production. The words "abolition of monopolies" were dropped by a vote of 5 against 2, and the whole subject was laid on the table until Friday, the 21st inst., when it was taken up and adopted in its present form (11) by a vote 4 Ayes against 3 Nays (Sorge, Weydemeyer and Conzett). (See page 15).

The Congress then proceeded to the consideration of the constitution of the party up to Article II. 2, when an adjournment took place to 7 o'clock A. M. of the next day.

SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, JULY 20th.

All delegates present. The session opened at 7.45 A. M. Weydemeyer was elected chairman for the day and the secretary read the minutes of the preceding day, which were laid over. The delegation of the North American federation, Sorge and Weydemeyer, handed in a written protest against the admission of Chas. Braun on the grounds, 1st, that said Braun was not a member of the society he claimed to represent, and 2nd, that the signers of the protest could not see clearly how the transfer of credentials (from and to Braun) was effected. It was ordered to insert the above protest in the minutes of the Congress. The debate on the constitution was resumed. Articles II. and III. were completed and then a short recess was taken. At the reopening of the session Article IV. came up and Sorge gave his views on centralization. Centralization, he said, means the combination of forces at that point, where the responsibility of action lies. Strong and sufficient power and influence should be granted to the Congress as well as to the Executive Committee, in order to enable them, to fulfill their duties successfully. Any usurpations could be checked easily by the power of revocation and dismissal, which should be facilitated. The prevailing inclination of the majority of the delegates present to curtail the power of the most important bodies by diminishing their functions and dividing them among separate boards and committees, and to force, on the

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other hand, the members into a few sections was in reality contrary to that centralization so much boasted of; it meant dissolution above and concentration below; it would result in an utter crippling of the power of the organization; it was nothing short of *decentralization*.—

The Congress completed the deliberation of the Constitution till Article IV. 3. This last paragraph was adopted by a vote of 5 against 2 and a recess taken till 1 o'clock P. M.

On the resumption of business, credentials were presented by Geo. G. Block, signed by J. P. McDonnell for the United Workers. The credentials were rejected and a complimentary seat offered to the bearer, was declined.—The deliberation of the constitution continued; Article IV. 6 received a lively discussion. Pointing to the peculiar state of things in New Haven, McGuire urged the insertion of the above mentioned clause permitting a local election movement under certain conditions. Other delegates advocated its insertion, but at the same time desired its suspension for a certain length of time. Sorge and Weydemeyer protested against the insertion, which took place, however, by a vote of 4 against 3 (Sorge, Weydemeyer, and Conzett). Articles V. and VI. then were debated, and completed. An amendment to Art. VI. 6, introduced by Sorge, reading thus: "No general vote shall be considered valid, if less than one half of the members take part in it," was rejected.

A committee of two (Conzett and Lyser) was appointed to prepare a uniform constitution for all Sections and submit it on the following day. The Congress then proceeded to consider the "Regulations of the Press." It was resolved to change the name of the English paper into "Labor Standard" by a vote of 5 (Sorge, Weydemeyer, Conzett, Braun and Gabriel) against 2 (Strasser and McGuire); the German paper of New York to be called "Arbeiter-Stimme," by a vote of 4 (Sorge, Weydemeyer, Conzett and Braun) against 3 (Gabriel, Strasser and McGuire). The remainder of the "Press-Regulations" was adopted after a short discussion. (See page 21.)

Recognizing the duty of the Workingmen's Party to take position with regard to the question of women's rights, the Congress passed a formal resolution on the subject. (See p. 23.)

Congress adjourned to meet again Friday morning at 7 o'clock.

THIRD DAY, FRIDAY, JULY 21st.

All delegates being present, Conzett was elected chairman for the day.

The Committee on Constitutions for Sections submitted their report, which was discussed and adopted as given below. (See page 20.)

Chicago was designated unanimously as the seat of the Executive Committee.

The designating of the seat of the Board of Supervision caused a lively discussion, Lawrence, New York, Newark and New Haven being proposed. Gabriel requested the delegates to drop Newark, because it would be difficult to find the qualified persons for the office, and because the local propaganda was sure to be injured. Sorge spoke against New Haven on the ground that the organization there was too young and depended too much on a few individuals. McGuire spoke against the objections of Sorge to New Haven and declared himself strongly against Lawrence as being void of the necessary capacities. Strasser begged that New York be dropped. Finally New Haven was designated as the seat of the B. S. by a vote of 4 (Conzett, Braun, Strasser and McGuire) against 3 (Sorge, Weydemeyer and Gabriel).

The E. C. jointly with the B. S. shall choose the meeting-place of the next Congress from among the following three places: Chicago, Ill., Boston, Mass., and Newark, N. J.

All elections within the organization shall be completed before the expiration of the 14th day of August.

On the motion of Sorge, Conzett and Strasser were appointed as a Committee to examine the books and lists of members of the North American federation of the I. W. A. The Congress then proceeded to investigate the state of the press of the party. Strasser reported about the "Social Democrat" as follows:

The paper is just getting along; from 2200 to 2300 copies are issued weekly, the resources consisting in \$250 to \$300, being due from agents and others, considered good. The weekly expenses of the paper amount to \$76.75, namely: editor \$18.00; management \$6.00; composition \$32.00; printing \$6.00; postage \$3.50; paper \$10.50; rent 75 Cents. About the "Socialist" the same delegate reported: About 2400 copies are issued weekly; at least 250 of this number are distributed gratis for purposes of propaganda; of regular subscribers there are not yet 1800; he could not give information on the sums outstanding because the agents were pretty careless; the co-operative printing association had not yet received its pay for the last four numbers and besides there was due to the Social political workingmens society of Cincinnati the sum of \$110.00; to keep the paper alive it would be necessary to raise for the months of July, August and September the sum of 200

or 250 dollars. The weekly expenses of the paper were 85 to 87 dollars, namely:

Editor.....	\$17.00
Manager.....	3.00
Composition.....	38.00 (to 40)
Paper.....	15.00
Printing.....	7.25
Postage.....	4.00
Rent.....	75

In concluding delegate Strasser recommended to the members of the organization to buy shares of the co-operative printing Association in order to enable the latter to give credit to the party.

The state of the English paper was first discussed. Sorge after admonishing to consider the matter carefully and to keep cool, stated that it would take at least a year to obtain the number of 3000 subscribers, that number being necessary for the existence of the paper; the necessary subvention during that period would therefore amount to about 800 dollars. He proposed to raise that sum by a regular tax. Lyser and McGuire were in favor of such a tax, the latter commenting on the haste with which the paper had been started. Conzett and Strasser expressed the opinion that the requisite number of 3000 subscribers might be obtained by next December.

It was decided, to reduce the width of the paper about 2 Ems per column and to shorten it correspondingly by 5 lines to the page, and to avoid leading. — At least one member of Typographical Union No. 6 (English speaking) shall be employed for the composition of the paper, and the new name "Labor Standard" shall be used with and after the issue of No. 18. Respecting the editor of the paper the Congress was unanimous in having a new one appointed. Drury of Philadelphia and McDonnell of New York were proposed. After a somewhat lengthy discussion J. P. McDonnell was elected editor, getting 5 votes (Sorge, Weydemeyer, Conzett, Braun and Gabriel). McGuire voted against and Strasser abstained from voting. Dr. A. Douai was appointed assistant-editor for all three papers. Recess till 1 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

Strasser from the Committee on examining the books etc. of the North American federation reported, that as far as the Committee could see, every thing was in order, the number of members being nearly 700, the funds \$76.47. Report accepted

and discussion on press matters continued. It was resolved, that the weekly salary of the chief-editors should be from 15 to 20 dollars.

The Congress then proceeded to the discussion on the state of the "Social-Demokrat" ("Arbeiter-Stimme") and arrived at the following resolutions:

1. The E. C. is bound to see that the editorial management of the "Arbeiterstimme" shall always be in harmony with the declaration of the principles of the party, and in accordance with the peculiarities of this country.

2. The "Arbeiterstimme" shall be enlarged in a proper way, commencing with the first number in October.

After this Conzett reported on the state of the "Vorbote," as follows:

Of the "Vorbote" there are 4000 copies issued weekly; of paying subscribers the paper has 3600. The weekly expenses are:

Paper.....	\$26.00
Composition.....	50.00
Management.....	5.00
Printing.....	11.50
Postage.....	5.50
Assistant-editor.....	5.00
Rent.....	2.75
Sundries.....	1.00

Total..... \$106.75

against an average weekly income of \$108.00.

The assets of the "Vorbote" are:

Advertisements.....	\$140.00
Carriers in Chicago.....	150.00
Single subscribers.....	70.00
Promissory note of Weinmeister, Louis-ville.....	100.00
Agents.....	290.00

Total..... \$750.00

Stock on hand, types and material (after deducting the proper percentage for wear and tear)..... \$700.00

Assets total..... \$1450.00

Liabilities:

Notes due about.....	\$40.00
Mortgage of C. Conzett etc.....	1430.00
Liabilities total.....	\$1470.00

The deliberation and discussion about this matter resulted in the following resolutions:

After a thorough investigation of the books the E. C. shall give to C. Conzett a promissory note for an amount not exceeding the sum of \$1,430.00.

For the payment of this note two thirds of the net gains made by party-festivities in Chicago and the whole of the gain resulting from a general New Year's eve-festivity of the year 1876 shall be appropriated.

Stock and assets to pass into the hands of the party.

Further: A co-operative printing association like the one existing in New York shall be formed in Chicago, which shall publish the "Vorbote" at cost price, adding the usual percentage for wear and tear, and which shall buy the stock for not less than \$600.00. (The formation of such an association was declared by Conzett to be an easy matter.)

A diminution of the size of the "Vorbote" was also proposed and Conzett was empowered to act in this matter with due regard to the interests of the party.

C. Conzett was unanimously elected editor of the "Vorbote," and he then declared that under the present circumstances he should not accept a higher salary than \$18.00 per week.

On the motion of Strasser it was resolved to employ the late editor of the English paper as assistant editor for the numbers 18 and 19 of the "Labor Standard" and to pay him his usual salary of \$12.00 a week for two weeks more. The new editor to begin his work with No. 18.

It was resolved to levy an extraordinary tax of 10 cents per member, and to continue said extraordinary tax every three months till all liabilities of the party will be paid.

All Sections were invited to hold festivities in honor of the union now accomplished, and to devote the proceeds of these festivities to aid the press of the party, and to pay the extraordinary taxes.

On the motion of Sorge it was resolved to place the agency of all foreign publications in the hands of the party. After having come to a proper understanding with the various publishers of the labor papers in other countries, a central depot should be established. A proposition to take at cost-

price the stock on hand of those private parties, who had carried on that business till now, was lost.

The two Councils of Administration of the party-organs in New York were charged with making the necessary preparations for opening the central depot on the first day of October in New York.

It was recommended to the party-authorities to publish Labor-pamphlets adapted to the conditions of this country.

Braun here gave notice to the Congress that his constituents at Cincinnati intended to issue a local weekly paper. The subject having been discussed it was resolved, that no local paper shall be founded without the consent of the E. C. and of the B. S.—At the same time the members of the party at Cincinnati were earnestly invited to devote the funds in their hands towards aiding the existing press of the party.

McGuire moved to take from the table No. 11 of the measures and demands; he introduced it in its present form, which was adopted by 4 votes against 3, and inserted as given below. (Page 15.)

Sorge now took the floor in the name of his co-delegate Weydemeyer. He reminded the Congress of the insertion of § 6. Art. IV. against the earnest opposition of Weydemeyer and himself, he called the attention of the Congress to the fact that the insertion of that clause was mainly due to the efforts of the delegate from New Haven, a fact, which had become more serious and threatening, since the seat of the B. S. had been transferred to New Haven; he stated again, that his own and Weydemeyer instructions were stringent on the matter of political action and that the co-operation of the North American Federation of the I. W. A. was dependent upon the withdrawal from all election movements for some time at least. In conclusion he urgently and earnestly entreated the delegates present to consider the subject and to rescind their former action with regard to it. After a lengthy and lively discussion this request was refused. Sorge was directed, however, to submit on the following day a resolution recommending temporary abstention from all election movements.

Strasser explained how the credentials of the S. D. W. P. were transferred to him and the Congress then adjourned till the following day.

FOURTH DAY, SATURDAY, JULY 22nd.

The Congress was opened at 10 o'clock A. M. and Chas. Braun was elected Chairman for the day. Sorge submitted

resolutions on the political movement and the ballot box, which were adopted by a vote of 4 (Sorge, Weydemeyer, Conzett and Strasser) against 3 (Braun, Gabriel and McGuire.) (See page 22.)

Gabriel then read the minutes of the Congress. Weydemeyer remarked that the evidence on the number of members etc., was missing from the Social Political Workingmen's Society of Cincinnati as well as from the S. D. W. P. of North America. Braun stated that he had sent a telegraphic dispatch to Cincinnati, and in return the Telegraph Company had informed him, that the address could not be found. As to his credentials from Cincinnati be declared that he obtained them in a perfectly legal way and that Strasser then got the credentials from the S. D. W. P. because he had the next highest number of votes. Regarding the S. D. W. P. he would say that their books and lists had been open for inspection in this room during the meetings of Congress.

The minutes were approved with a few slight alterations. The declaration of principles, the constitution, the press-regulations and the resolutions of Congress were then read over and passed unanimously.

The end of August was fixed as the time for the meeting of the next Congress, and it was left to the E. C. jointly with the B. S. to decide, whether the next Congress should be held in 1877 or in 1878.

All delegates recognizing the inexpediency of submitting again the work of this Congress to a general vote, a resolution to this effect was submitted by Conzett and passed *unanimously*. (See page 24.)

A Committee of three (Sorge, Gabriel and McGuire) was appointed to revise the entire proceedings of the Congress and to publish them in pamphlet form with the declaration of principles, constitution etc. appended; 3000 copies in German, and 2000 copies in English, the price to be 5 cents per copy.

The party-authorities were directed to publish regular reports of their meetings.

A condensed report of the Congress proceedings to be sent at once to the organs of the party.

Sorge made some remarks on an eventual amalgamation of the two German papers of the party. The Congress was of the opinion that for the present nothing should be done in this matter, but that the party-authorities should be watchful.

The work of the Union Congress was done.

McGuire arose, dwelt on the difficulties, under which the delegates had labored, and expressed the hope, that their work would be lasting, and that nothing should perturb their remi-

niscences. Lyser gave the assurance that the paper, he writes for, would prove faithful to the principles, constitution etc. here adopted.—Sorge said he felt sure that the Internationals would do their full share in putting into operation the work of this Congress.

The Congress then adjourned *sine die*.

The delegates are fully aware that their work has no claim to perfection, but they are conscious also of having acted to the best of their abilities, and of having tried to give some aid and support to the working classes in their ever increasing struggle for economical freedom.

Rise then, ye sons and daughters of labor! Rally around its flag, and help us to carry it to the heights of humanity! Alter and amend whatever we did wrong or may be impracticable, but join hands with us for the establishment of that fraternal union of the disinherited and down trodden wages laborers, which will relieve us from the evils of capitalistic society.

By order of Congress

F. A. Sorge.

Albert Gabriel.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

OF THE

Workingmen's Party of the United States.

The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves independent of all political parties of the propertied classes.

The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.

The economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence.

The economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end, to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.

All efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of concerted action between the workingmen of all countries.

The emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution upon the practical and theoretical concurrence and co-operation of the most advanced countries.

For these reasons, the Workingmen's Party of the United States has been founded.

It enters into proper relations and connection with the workingmen of other countries.

Political liberty without economical independence being but an empty phrase we shall in the first place direct our efforts to the economical question.

We repudiate entire connection with all political parties of the propertied classes without regard to their name.

We demand that all the means of labor (land, machinery, railroads, telegraphs, canals etc.) become the common property of the whole people, for the purpose of abolishing the wages system, and substituting in its place co-operative production with a just distribution of its rewards.

The political action of the Party is confined generally to obtaining legislative acts in the interest of the working class proper. It will not enter into a political campaign before being strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence, and then in the first place locally in the towns or cities, when demands of a purely local character may be presented, providing they are not in conflict with the platform and principles of the Party.

We work for the organization of trades unions upon a national and international basis to ameliorate the condition of the working people and seek to spread therein the above principles.

The Workingmen's Party of the United States proposes to introduce the following measures, as a means to improve the condition of the working classes:

1. Eight hours for the present as a normal working day, and legal punishment of all violators.
2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor, means of subsistence and dwellings included.
3. Establishment of bureaus of labor statistics in all States as well as by the National Government; the officers of these bureaus to be taken from the ranks of the labor organizations and elected by them.
4. Prohibition of the use of prison labor by private employers.
5. Prohibitory laws against the employment of children under 14 years of age in industrial establishments.
6. Gratuitous instruction in all educational institutions.
7. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents to the injury of their employees.
8. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.
9. Abolition of all conspiracy laws.
10. Railroads, telegraphs, and all means of transportation to pass into the hands of and to be operated by the Government.
11. All industrial enterprises to be placed under the control of the Government as fast as practicable and operated by free co-operative trades unions for the good of the whole people.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Workingmens Party of the United States.

The affairs of the party shall be conducted by three bodies: The Congress the *Executive Committee* and *Board of Supervision*.

ARTICLE I.—THE CONGRESS.

1. At least every two years a Congress shall be held, composed of the delegates from the different Sections that have been connected with the party at least two months previously and complied with all their duties. Sections of less than 100 members shall be entitled to one delegate, from 100 to 200 to two delegates and to one more delegate for every additional one hundred. (See also II. 4 d, and III. 4.)

2. No suspended Section shall be admitted to a seat before the Congress has examined and passed judgment on its case. It shall, however, be the duty of every Congress to put such cases on the order of business and dispose of them immediately after the election of its officers.

3. The Congress defines and establishes the political position of the party, decides finally all differences within the party, appoints time and place of the next Congress and designates the seat of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Supervision.

4. The entire expenses of the Congress as well as the mileage and salary of the delegates shall be paid by the party and provided for by a special tax to be levied six weeks before the Congress meets. — Before the year 1880 however no mileage will be paid beyond the 36th degree of northern lati-

tude, nor beyond the 95th degree of western longitude (Greenwich.)

5. All propositions and motions to be considered and acted upon by the Congress shall be communicated to all Sections at least 6 weeks previously. (See also II 3 f III 4, IV 7, VI 6 and press regulation No. 19.)

II. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1. The Executive Committee shall consist of seven members and shall appoint from its own midst one corresponding secretary, one recording secretary, one financial secretary and one treasurer.

a. The E. C. shall be elected by the Sections of the place designated as its seat and vacancies shall be filled in the same way.

2. The E. C. shall hold office from one Congress to the ensuing one.

3. The duties of the E. C. shall be:

a. To execute all resolutions of Congress and to see that they are strictly observed by all Sections and members;

b. To organize and centralize the propaganda;

c. To represent the organization at home and abroad;

d. To entertain and open relations with the workingmen's parties of other countries;

e. To make a quarterly report to the Sections concerning the state of the organization and its financial position;

f. To make all necessary preparations for the Congress as well as a detailed report to the same on all party-matters.

4. Rights and powers of the E. C.

a. The E. C. with the concurrence of the Board of Supervision may refuse to admit to the organization individuals and Sections as well as suspend members and sections till the next Congress for injuring the party interests.

b. In case of urgency the E. C. may make suitable propositions, which propositions shall become binding if approved of by a majority of the members of the Party within two months.

c. The E. C. has the right to establish rules and regulations for the policy to be observed by the party-papers, to watch their course and in cases of vacancy to appoint editors pro tempore.

d. The E. C. may send the corresponding secretary as delegate to the Congress. The delegate will have no vote and shall be prohibited from accepting any other credentials.

5. The salary of the party officers is fixed by the E. C. with the concurrence of the Board of Supervision. (See also IV 6, V 2, VI 4, VII 2, VII 13 and the press regulations No. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13 and 17.)

6. The corresponding secretary shall copy all documents and writings issued by the E. C., place on file all communications received, and keep a correct record thereof. He shall receive a proper salary.

7. The financial secretary shall keep and make out the lists of sections and members, receive and record all monies and hand them over to the treasurer, taking his vouchers therefor.

8. The treasurer shall receive all monies from the financial secretary, pay bills and honor all orders of the E. C. after they are countersigned by the corresponding secretary and one more member of the E. C., make a correct report on the state of the treasury to the E. C. in every meeting and to the whole organization every three months, and give security to an amount fixed by the E. C.

9. The reports of the treasurer must be examined in a regular meeting of the E. C., and endorsed by the same.

III. THE BOARD OF SUPERVISION.

1. The B. S. (Board of Supervision) shall consist of five members to hold office and to be elected in the same way as the E. C. (See II. 2. and II. 1. a.)

2. The duties of the B. S. shall be:

a. To watch over the action of the E. C. and that of the whole party, to superintend the administration and the editorial management of the organs of the party, and to interfere in case of need.

b. To adjust all differences occurring in the party within four weeks after receiving the necessary evidence, subject to the final decision of Congress. (See I. 3.)

c. To make a detailed report on its actions to the Congress.

3. In case of urgency the B. S. may suspend officers and editors till the meeting of the next Congress, such suspension to be submitted at once to a general vote, the result of which shall be made known within four weeks thereafter. (See also II. 4. a. and II. 3.)

4. The B. S. is entitled to send one delegate to the Congress under the same conditions as the E. C. See II. 4. d.) (See also V. 2., VI. 4., and press regulations 3., 7., 16. and 17.)

IV. SECTIONS.

1. Ten (10) persons speaking the same language and being wages-laborers shall be entitled to form a Section, provided they acknowledge the principles, statutes, and Congress resolutions, and belong to no political party of the propertied classes. They shall demand admission from the E. C. by transmitting the dues for the current month, and their list of members, the latter to contain the names, residences and trade of the members, and to show their condition as wages-laborers.

2. At least three-fourths of the members of a Section must be wages-laborers. (See VII. 12.)

3. There shall be no more than one Section of the same language in one place, which may meet in different parts of the town or city for the purposes of an active propaganda. Business meetings shall be held once a month.

4. Every Section is responsible for the integrity of its members.

5. Every Section is required:

a. To make a monthly report to the E. C. concerning its activity, membership and financial situation.

b. To entertain friendly relations with the Trades Unions and to promote their formation.

c. To hold regular meetings at least once every two weeks.

d. To direct its efforts exclusively to the organization, enlightenment and emancipation of the working classes.

6. No Section shall take part in a political movement without the consent of the E. C.

7. Five Sections of different localities shall be entitled to call for the meeting of an extraordinary Congress, such Congress to be convened if a majority of the Sections decides in its favor.

V. DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS.

1. A monthly due of five (5) cents for each member shall be transmitted to the E. C. to meet the expenses of propaganda and administration.

2. In case of need and with the consent of the B. S. the E. C. is empowered to levy an extraordinary tax. (See also I. 4., VII. 10, and VII. 11.)

VI. GENERAL REGULATIONS.

1. All Officers, Committees, Boards, etc., shall be chosen by a majority vote.

2. No member of the organization shall hold more than one office at the same time.

3. All Officers, Authorities, Committees, Boards, etc. of the Organization may be dismissed or removed at any time by a general vote of their constituencies and such general vote shall be taken within one month from the date of the motion to that effect, provided, however, that said motion be supported by not less than one-third of the respective constituents.

4. Expulsion from one Section shall be valid for the whole Organization if approved of by the E. C. and by the B. S.

5. All members of the organization, by the adoption of this constitution, take upon themselves the duty to assist each other morally and materially in case of need.

6. The Congress alone has the right of amending, altering or adding to this constitution, subject to a general vote of all Sections, the result of which shall be communicated to the E. C. within four weeks.

VII. LOCAL STATUTES.

1. Every section shall choose from its ranks one organizer, one recording secretary, one corresponding secretary, one financial secretary, one treasurer and two members of an auditing committee.

2. All these officers shall be elected for six months and the E. C. shall take timely measures to make the elections of newly formed sections correspond with the general elections of the whole party.

3. The organizer conducts the local propaganda and is responsible to the section. The organizers of the various sections of one locality shall be in constant communication with each other in order to secure concerted action.

4. The secretary is charged with the minutes and the correspondence.

5. The financial secretary shall keep and make out the list of members, sign the cards of membership, collect the dues, hand them over to the treasurer and correctly enter them.

6. The treasurer shall receive all monies from the financial secretary and hold them subject to the order of the section.

7. The auditing committee shall superintend all books and the general management of affairs, and audit all bills.

8. All officers shall make monthly reports to the section.

9. A chairman is elected in every meeting for maintaining the usual parliamentary order.

10. The monthly dues of each member shall be not less

than ten (10) cents, five cents of which shall be paid to the E. C. (See V, and I, 4.)

11. Members being in arrears for three consecutive months, shall be suspended until fulfilling their duties, always excepted those who are sick or out of work.

12. Persons not belonging to the wages class can only be admitted in a regular business meeting by a two-third vote. (See D. 1 and 2.)

13. The result of every election within the section must be at once communicated to the E. C.

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Regulations concerning the Press of the Party.

1. The "Labor Standard" and the "Arbeiter-Stimme" of New York and the "Vorbote" of Chicago are recognised as organs and property of the party.

2. The press (i. e. the organs) shall represent the interests of labor, awaken and arouse class-feeling amongst the workmen, promote their organization as well as the trades union movement and spread economical knowledge among them.

3. The editorial management of every one of the above papers is entrusted to an editor, appointed either by Congress or by the E. C. and B. S. jointly, said editor to receive an appropriate salary.

4. Whenever needed, assistant-editors will be appointed by the E. C. with the advice and consent of the chief editor.

5. The chief-editor is responsible for the contents of the paper and shall be guided in matters of principle by the declaration of principles of the party; in technical and formal matters by the regulations of the E. C. (See Constitution II, 4, c.)

6. Whenever refusing to insert a communication from a member of the organization, the editor shall make it known to the writer thereof directly or by an editorial notice, when appeal may be made to the E. C.

7. The editor shall observe strict neutrality towards all differences arising within the party, till the B. S. and the Congress have given their decision.

8. For every one of the above three papers there shall be elected at their respective place of publication a Council of Administration of five (5) members who jointly with the E. C. shall appoint and remove the business manager and his assistants.

9. The C. A. (Council of Administration) shall be chosen for one year in the first week of August of every year.

10. The C. A. shall establish rules for the business management, superintend the same, investigate all complaints concerning the business management, redress all grievances if found good, pay their weekly salaries to the editors and managers and make a full report of the state of the paper every three months to all sections by a circular.

11. The manager is bound to mail punctually and address correctly the papers; he shall receive all monies, book them and hand them over to the treasurer of the C. A., and he shall keep the office of the paper in good order. His salary will be determined by the Congress or by the E. C.

12. The receipts of all monies from without shall be published in the paper.

13. The treasurer of the C. A. and the manager shall give security to the C. A. to an amount fixed by the E. C.

14. All sums over and above the amount of the security shall be deposited in a bank by the C. A.

15. The chief-editors salary shall be between 15 and 20 dollars per week.

16. All complaints against the business management shall in the first place be preferred to the C. A., in the second place to the B. S.

17. All complaints against the editorial management shall in the first place be put before the E. C., in the second place before the B. S.

18. The sections are responsible for the financial liabilities of newspaper-agents nominated by them.

19. The Congress alone can alter, amend or add to these regulations.

The Ballot Box.

Considering, That the economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end, to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

Considering, That the Workingmen's Party of the United States in the first place directs its efforts to the economical struggle.

Considering, That only in the economical arena the combatants for the Workingmen's Party can be trained and disciplined.

Considering, That in this country the ballot box has long ago ceased to record the popular will, and only serves to falsify the same in the hands of professional politicians;

Considering, That the organization of the working people is not yet far enough developed to overthrow at once this state of corruption;

Considering, That this middle class Republic has produced an enormous amount of small reformers and quacks, the intruding of whom into the Workingmen's Party will only be facilitated by a political movement, and

Considering, That the corruption and mis-application of the ballot box as well as the silly reform movements flourish most in the years of presidential elections, at such times greatly endangering the organization of workingmen;

For these reasons the Union Congress meeting at Philadelphia this 22d day of July 1876, *Resolved*,

The sections of this party as well as all workingmen in general are earnestly invited to abstain from all political movements for the present and to turn their back on the ballot box.

The Workingmen will therewith save themselves bitter disappointments, and their time and efforts will be directed far better towards the organization of the workingmen, which organization is frequently destroyed and always injured by a hasty political movement.

Let us bide our time! It will come!

Women's Rights.

The Union Congress of the Workingmen's Party of the United States declares:

The emancipation of Labor is a social problem, a problem concerning the whole human race and embracing both sexes. The emancipation of women will be accomplished with the emancipation of men, and the so-called womens rights question will be solved with the Labor question. All evils and wrongs of the present society can be abolished only when economical freedom is conquered for men as well as for women.

It is the duty therefore of the wives and daughters of the workingmen to organize themselves and take their places within the ranks of struggling labor. To aid and support them in this work is the duty of the men. By uniting their efforts they will succeed in breaking the economical fetters, and a new and free race of men and women will rise recognizing each other as peers.

We acknowledge the perfect equality of rights of both sexes and in the Workingmen's Party of the United States this equality of rights is a principle and is strictly observed.

No general vote on the work of the Union Congress.

Considering, That by ordering a general vote on the labors of this Congress the Union so much needed and desired would be retarded;

Considering furthermore, That by a general vote these labors might be left unsettled and even a new Congress might be made necessary;

For these reasons the Union Congress assembled at Philadelphia this 22d day of July 1876. *Resolved*,

"The general vote on the decisions and resolutions of this Congress is dispensed with and they will be in force and valid for all Workingmen's groups here represented on and after the date of their publication."



Workingmen's Party of the United States.



Executive Committee:

PHILIP VAN PATTEN, corresponding Secretary, 103½ N. Wells st., Chicago, Ill.

Board of Supervision:

New Haven, Conn.

ORGANS OF THE PARTY:

The "*Labor Standard*," published weekly at 154 Eldridge st., New York, at 60 Cts. per quarter; \$2.00 per year.

In the German language:

The "*Arbeiterstimme*," published weekly at 154 Eldridge st., New York; 65 Cts. per quarter.

The "*Vorbote*," published weekly at 124 S. Franklin st., Chicago, Ill.; 65 Cts. per quarter.